



UNITED WE ARE STRONG! UNITED ROMANIA!

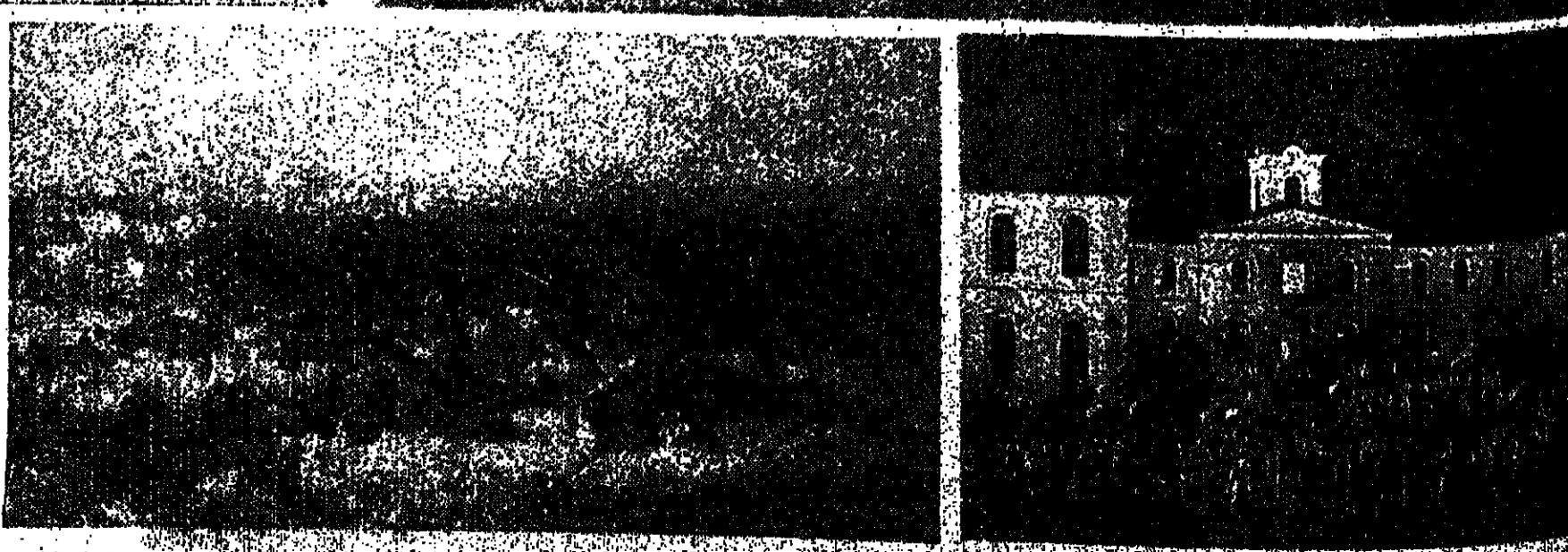


"The Unirea Neagră și Crâșova" (bottom, right) celebrating the union of the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (1859) by Th. Aman; "The Attack on Smoljan" (bottom, left), during the Independence War (1877) by N. Grigorescu.

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# ROMANIAN

# NEWS

## JOINT MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES AND MASS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

### NICOLAE CEAUSĂSCU PRESIDENT

ON  
THE CURRENT STAGE OF ROMANIAN SOCIALIST  
SOCIETY AND THE PROSPECTS OF ITS FUTURE  
DEVELOPMENT, THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF SOCIOECONOMIC MANAGEMENT,  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY  
WORKER DEMOCRACY; THE ROLE OF THE STATE  
AND OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES, THE GROWING  
ROLE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY  
AND IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL-EDUCATIVE  
ACTIVITY, THE RISING LEVEL OF SCIENTIFIC  
KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE, OF REVOLUTIONARY  
CONSCIOUSNESS, THE RATIO OF FORCES  
AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

(PAGES 3-14)



### HOMAGE TO THE GREAT UNION



1918-1988

A BIG CIVIC RALLY DE-  
VOTED TO THE ANNIVERSARY OF 70 YEARS  
SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITARY  
ROMANIAN NATIONAL STATE TOOK PLACE IN  
THE CAPITAL'S REPUBLICII SQUARE ON  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30. PRESIDENT  
NICOLAE CEAUSĂSCU MADE A BRIEF SPEECH  
BEFORE THE OVER 120,000 CITIZENS WHO  
HAD COME FROM ALL THE COUNTRY'S CO-  
UNTIES AND FROM BUCHAREST MUNI-  
CIPALITY TO MARK SEVEN DECADES SINCE THE  
GREAT UNION OF 1918.

(see page 16)

In the presence of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, the works of the eighth session of the ninth legislative term of the Grand National Assembly were opened on Thursday, December 1. Under debate are important documents regarding Romania's socioeconomic development in the fourth year of the current five-year plan period.

### SESSION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The plans, as well as the state budget for next year, which are being debated by the Grand National Assembly, ensure the continued development of the productive forces, a steady pace of industrialization, imports of raw materials, and the growth in agriculture, as well as the strong assertion of the new technological revolution and of the new agrarian revolution, the increase in the national income, the maintenance of the cultural and patriotic traditions of our great and heroic fighters (see page 13).





(cont. from p. 3)  
That is why we must underline that, in the activity of the revolutionary worker movement, of the Romanian Communist Party, of other sufficient democratic forces, many communist and revolutionary patrols laid down their lives for the homeland's liberation, for

the liquidation of oppression, for the building of the new socialist system.

Our party and people will always value those who at important moments of the homeland's history, of our people's fight, did their duty to our nation, to the homeland, to the cause of socialism and communism!

### 3. The Ninth Party Congress Ushered in a New Revolutionary Epoch in the Party's Activity, in Socialist Construction in Romania

Dear comrades,

The Ninth Party Congress analysed in a critical and self-critical spirit the activity in the first stage of socialist construction in Romania and set the goals of our homeland's socioeconomic development in the new stage of socialist construction, starting in 1993.

The second stage, which can be said to have covered three five-year-plan periods' — 1965-1980 — was that for the creation of a diverse socialist factory, on the basis of the latest gains of science and technology, the development of the other areas of activity, the consolidation of the socialist sector in agriculture and the growth of the agricultural output.

At the same time, special heed was paid to the scientific research work, the improvement of education, of cultural and political-cultural activities.

In the second stage of socialist construction, 1985-1990, Romania became an industrial-agrarian country in full swing of development.

We may say with good reason that the Ninth Party Congress ushered in a new revolutionary era in the activity of the Party, in socialist construction in Romania. An end was put to conservatism, clichés and the theory of the "single model" of socialist construction.

The attitude of subservience to anything that was foreign was done away with, and the Party and the people's confidence in their creative force, in their capacity of thinking and acting, their sense of patriotic, revolutionary dignity were restored.

In the entire activity we set out from the fact that the implementation of the general objective laws of the principles of socialism differs from country to country, from socioeconomic development stage to socioeconomic development stage.

The Report submitted to the Ninth

equality of rights among all our homeland's citizens, without distinction.

As the role of agriculture was restored as a basic branch of our homeland's socioeconomic development, of socialist construction, action has been taken for the powerful growth of farm production; big irrigation systems have been built over nearly four million hectares, and important works have been carried out for land reclamation, soil improvement and breeding of cattle's productive potential. Solutions have been provided to the problems of the complete mechanization of agriculture and chemicalization, conditions being created for obtaining larger crops — which have amounted to some 30 million tons of cereals in the last few years — and for an important growth of the outputs of all the other agricultural sectors.

Transport, construction and the other sectors of activity have powerfully developed.

A strong development was recorded by scientific research, which is playing an ever more important part in all domains.

Ten-year education has been generalized, and nearly 80 per cent of all young people attend 12-year schools.

An intense cultural activity, of raising the general level of knowledge of the working masses, of the entire people has also been carried out.

Throughout this period, especially after the Ninth Congress, a vast investment programme has been implemented, which accounts for over 4,100 thousand million lei.

On this basis one has ensured the impulsive development of the productive forces, of industry, agriculture, the carrying out of the tremendous programme of socio-cultural construction. In the last 21 years alone 2.8 million flats have been built with state funds, and hundreds of thousands of dwellings with the population's funds.

Certain shortcomings and mistakes were manifested in the ensuing stage too. We were not always able to stick to the main tasks, and the established leadership, some times energy, have let behind the overall development. In this field had been done more responsibly in all fields we could have registered much better results.

We have covered a long and difficult path, we have advanced along various ways, but by guiding ourselves by the general laws, by the socialist principle, we have ensured the elimination of shortcomings and errors in time, the improvement of all activity sectors, and in this way great achievements have been scored in all domains.

The socialist society completely legitimated exploitation, the suppression of man by man.

The aim of all economic and social activities in our socialist society is the general increase of the national wealth through the development of the forces of production, of all sectors, of science, of education and of culture, and hence, the improvement of general living, the improvement of general health, the complete eradication of poverty, the eradication of a surplus of working people, the creation of a surplus of working people, so that there are neither rich nor poor working people who have decent and decent material and cultural standards and are freely building life standards and are wish it to be.

More than three million people benefit from the pension system, and some five million children receive child benefits.

It can be said that the incomes of the entire population of Romania — in one form or another — are virtually connected to the development of industry, agriculture and the social sectors, that each citizen's incomes are related to the development towards communism.

means ensure the accumulation funds for the whole socioeconomic development of our homeland. I stressed on those occasions the fact that by reducing the consumption fund and development fund we may accumulate a bigger consumption fund, but that in the long run, this would entail a general draw in the homeland's economy, in all the productive forces and consequently a marked decrease of the people's living standards.

On the strength of realities, the state that life has fully confirmed, of the correctness of our Party's policy, the fulfillment of the objective law of accumulation, of enlarging reproduction and of development. With this as a starting point, over the last 21 years we have allotted, every year, about one third of the national income for the development of industry, two thirds for the consumption fund. Only in this way has it been possible to ensure the fulfillment of the programmes for the development of the productive forces of industry, agriculture, science, education, culture, of the vast programme of housing and socio-cultural construction, all of which make up the foundation of socialist democracy and of the continuous upgrading of the entire people's material and cultural living standards.

Throughout this period, we have allotted more than one third to the fact that if accumulation and the development fund are reduced, the very existence and future of our whole nation would be endangered.

Today we have scored great achievements in the first three years, although not as forecast in the five-year plan.

In view of this fact, it is necessary

to further ensure a fair distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the accumulation and development fund, in order to provide the requisite conditions for the steady attainment of the strategic goals of the homeland's future development.

I must emphasize that only the attainment of the requisite funds for accumulation and development made it possible to achieve the strong development of agriculture, of agriculture, transport and the other branches and on this basis there is marked development of socialist property, that solution has been provided to the problems of the complete mechanization of agriculture and chemicalization, conditions being created for obtaining larger crops — which have amounted to some 30 million tons of cereals in the last few years — and for an important growth of the outputs of all the other agricultural sectors.

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We have covered a long and difficult path, we have advanced along various ways, but by guiding ourselves by the general laws, by the socialist principle, we have ensured the elimination of shortcomings and errors in time, the improvement of all activity sectors, and in this way great achievements have been scored in all domains.

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enterprise may own up to 30 per cent of the enterprise's total funds, being given an annual additional profit of 4-6 per cent for their shares, depending on the results, each enterprise scores its activity. The same principles are being applied also in the cooperative system. We consider that this has entailed the improvement of the collective ownership system, providing adequate incentives to the teams of working people so that they may contribute to the general development of collective property, and for their personal participation in the development of each enterprise's activity.

Thus, our system of ownership of the fixed assets, land included, covers the property of the entire people, entrusted for use to each team of working people, which accounts for about 63 per cent of the total, the cooperative property in all domains, which stands for about 27 per cent, and individual property, and for the development of each enterprise, which accounts for some 8 per cent.

I consider this to be fully consonant with the conditions and realities in our homeland and to provide the best conditions for the further growth of productive forces, of the technical-material base of the entire society.

That is why it is our duty to work most resolutely to strengthen and develop the system of agricultural development, starting from the goals of the new agrarian revolution, and make sure that in 1990 we harvest at least 35 million tons of cereals and enhance adequately the output of all the other branches, including animal breeding, animal production.

In order to attain the goals of the current five-year plan we must measure the success of our activity with a view to the intensification of the technical and material base and a proper supply of productive forces. This presupposes unflinchingly implementing the programmes in the areas of mining, oil, building materials, chemistry and metallurgy as well as in the other branches which turn out products required for the proper run of production.

At the same time we must work most resolutely to strengthen and develop the system of agricultural development, starting from the goals of the new agrarian revolution, and make sure that in 1990 we harvest at least 35 million tons of cereals and enhance adequately the output of all the other branches, including animal breeding, animal production.

Resolute steps must be taken for every-day problems cropping up in the complex activity for manufacturing better products, whose quality and technologies are ever higher.

Resolute actions must be taken, at the same time, for the implementation of the programmes of improving education, raising the technical and professional standards of cadres, of working people in all fields of activity.

We must not forget that all these factors can be attained only by people with a high professional level, technical and technological skills, whose quality and technologies are ever higher.

Resolute steps must be taken for every-day problems cropping up in the complex activity for manufacturing better products, whose quality and technologies are ever higher.

At the same time we have to act in full determination for the improving of the norms of material and energy consumption, for a permanent reduction of these consumptions in keeping with improved production technologies, with a better organization of the whole activity.

Special heed must be given to the programmes of recovery and reuse of materials, substances and waste, which hold an important share in all sectors, sometimes exceeding 50 per cent of the necessary raw and subsidiary materials.

The implementation of these programmes is highly significant also in the general cut of material and energy consumption.

Firm steps are necessary to achieve the targets in the field of energy. We have to proceed in such a way as to make no, by any means, for the energy drawbacks by 1990. Our programmes, our investment efforts on this line, offer every condition for the implementation of this objective.

We have to take resolute action for increasing labour productivity, by proceeding with a better organization of the whole activity, mechanization, automation and rationalization, production processes.

Special attention should be paid to the implementation of the provisions on improving the technical standards, the quality of all products.

Let us give strong impetus to the relations with all socialist countries, with developing countries, and with the development of socialist countries, with the spirit of equality and mutual advantage.

Most particularly, I should like to call attention to the necessity of a large-scale cooperation in and specialization of production, of an active participation, already in this five-year-plan period, in cooperation ventures with a view to achieving various industrial-agrarian units jointly with other countries, on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit.

In general, we should step up our participation in the international division of labour, for the exchange of material and cultural assets.

We must bear in mind that foreign trade is a necessary activity to fulfil our programmes, to normally develop international relations, and conduct a policy of collaboration and peace with all the world's states, irrespective of their social system.

At the same time, all sectors have to focus their attention on increasing the efficiency and profitability of the whole socioeconomic activity, based on production and material expense cuts, on the strict observance of the economic and financial norms.

To this end, a strict implementation is required of the programme of economic and financial norm-setting, of establishment of the circulating assets as well as of the law on production price-fixing. These are compulsory requirements of a good activity and management, based on the self-administration and self-management.

We must be fully aware of the fact that we cannot attain the goals of the on-going five-year plan without a marked improvement of quality and technological standards. This is one of the basic requirements of our whole activity.

The attainment of the goals of the current five-year plan must provide for the attainment of the goal of Romania's transition to a higher stage, that of a medium-developed country — and we may say every condition is in place for us to do so!

This will be a notable achievement of our people, a confirmation of the correctness of our Party's policy of socialist construction, and will take our country to higher stages of civilization, of material and cultural well-being for the entire people!

From a quantitative point of view we have reached a fine standard of development in many sectors, which ranks Romania among the advanced countries in terms of the industrial output and its concerns its per capita output and even its terms output as such.

Now, the whole activity must focus on the implementation of the programme of intensive development, organization and modernization of the industry and of the other branches, setting out from the latest breakthroughs in science and technology.

Therefore we must add the finishing touches to the programmes in all the sectors and branches of activity, in all the central and enterprises, considering that only by so doing will we ensure the implementation during the current five-year plan period of the goals set by the Thirteenth Party Congress.

At the same time we must work most resolutely to implement the programme of the new agricultural development, organization and modernization of the industry and of the other branches, setting out from the latest breakthroughs in science and technology.

The implementation of the on-going five-year plan is possible only with the latest scientific gains, with the determined commitment of the whole research activity in attaining these targets.

We have adequately and steadily to combine research work, education and production, to link more closely the whole research work to the practical requirements of production, to manufacture better products, whose quality and technologies are ever higher.

Resolute actions must be taken, at the same time, for the implementation of the programmes of improving education, raising the technical and professional standards of cadres, of working people in all fields of activity.

We must not forget that all these factors can be attained only by people with a high professional level, technical and technological skills, whose quality and technologies are ever higher.

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## V. IMPROVING THE SYSTEM OF MANAGING AND PLANNING SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### 1. Firm Application of the Economic-Financial Mechanism Principles, of Self-Management and Self-Administration

Dear comrades,

participation in the management of all the sectors of activity.

As I mentioned as early as the Ninth Party Congress in 1965, we agreed on passing to the improvement of the management and planning system, to the creation of a framework suited the realities in this country. In this respect we proceeded from the principle that management planning and financial forms are not given once and for all, that they must be improved constantly, in step with the growth of productive forces, of science and culture, with the technical-material base, with the needs of an enlarged unitary management with the growing responsibility of working people, of the democratic framework for management, for the realization of the principle of self-management, self-administration and self-financing of all sectors of activity.

Over this interval we have introduced and improved the system of management, self-financing and self-administration in each economic and social unit.

We have created an ample system strengthening the direct responsibility of the collectives of working people for the activity of each enterprise, and at the same time we have developed a new, democratic framework for management, realizing the principle of management by one, with the principle of collective leadership.

We have created the councils of working people in all fields of activity, with workers making at least 30 per cent of their membership. We have institutionalized the role of the general assemblies of owners and producers. In the entire activity of the enterprise, accordingly, we have created local and national bodies for the masses, the whole people's organized



(cont. from p. 9)

need to regulate by laws the whole organization and operational system of the state of socioeconomic life, of all sectors of activity.

The provisions of the 1965 Constitution fully meet the requirements of the ongoing stage of the homeland's development, ensuring a wide democratic framework for the whole people's participation in the management of society.

Likewise, the laws regulating the organization of the whole activity, grounded on self-management, self-administration, and democracy — its economic framework of all sectors, fully meet the requirements of the present development stage. However we will have to permanently consider the improvement of the legislation of our revolutionary worker democracy, in order to enhance the responsibility and legal order in all sectors. We must completely do away with the Decisions of the Council of Ministers and see to it that all sectors operate on the basis of laws alone. Only thus shall we ensure order, discipline and democracy.

In our entire activity we must firmly apply the principles of socialist ethics and equity, ensure the safeguarding of the socialist property — that of the whole people and the cooperative one — as well as of the private property of all the citizens of our homeland.

Most resolute action should be taken against any manifestation of dishonesty, of corruption, of any form of oppression, whether from the general wealth or from private property, regardless the sense of honesty and responsibility for general and private property. We must strive for honesty, the safeguarding of property, of the whole people's wealth, the sense of justice to become a salient feature of the new-type man, the conscious builder of socialism.

The necessity is apparent of amending the Penal Code and the Code of Civil Procedure in accordance with the new changes and realities in our homeland.

The judiciary and prosecuting bodies must fulfill their mission and responsibly

bility for the development of our society, punishing any violation of the country's laws, of the norms of socialist ethics and equity. We must, however, equally see to it that no one is tried and, even less so, sentenced unjustly. Likewise, the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior — the Mills and the Security Department — must further improve their activity, and work closer with the people's masses to safeguard order, socialist and private property, to ensure the quiet of all citizens.

In close relationship with the judiciary and the prosecuting bodies, with the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior, the public councils of jurors in all fields of activity — that play a particular role in safeguarding property. In firmly promoting the norms of social life — must be come a powerful force of democratic justice of the Justice of the entire people.

The safeguarding of socialist achievements of the homeland's independence and sovereignty is a vital necessity in the conditions of the present stage of the war of aggression of imperialism. In the democratic field of state. Starting from the revolutionary outlook according to which the safeguarding of the homeland's integrity and independence is the task of the whole people, we have always paid attention to improving the combat capacity and political training of our armed forces. We will further work most firmly to strengthen the combat capacity and improve political training, especially to defend our homeland, our country. It is an inseparable part of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing communism.

We shall strengthen the collaboration with the armies of the socialist countries in the membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, so long as this exists; yet, even afterwards, we consider that developing the collaboration with the socialist countries' armies, with other friendly forces must remain a constant concern in the struggle for peace, for collaboration, for observance of each people's right to free and independent development.

## VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION IN SOCIALISM. THE PARTY'S POLICY OF ENSURING THE COMPLETE EQUALITY OF RIGHTS OF ALL ROMANIA'S CITIZENS

Dear comrades,

I wish briefly to address, in this context too, the national and the nationalities' question.

It is common knowledge that the nation, too, emerged in a certain stage of development, as a matter of fact, simultaneously with the capitalist system's development.

Owing to the tough conditions in which our people developed, the development process of our nation was longer.

Socialism provided the new conditions required by the restoration of the nation's independence, which became more comprehensive. As a matter of fact, the development process of new nations has not yet been completed. In many countries, the process of many peoples' development and organization as nations is under way — and this process is seemingly due to last a little longer, being slightly linked

to the early development of the productive forces, the general educational and cultural standards, the peasant class which, allied to the working class, will represent the granite-like foundation of our socialist society.

For reaching changes have been wrought also among the intelligentsia.

Following the marked growth of industry, agriculture and the other sectors of activity, the progress of science, education and culture, the number of intellectuals has grown over ten times, with the ranks of the intelligentsia being joined by workers, peasants and other working categories.

In this way, we may rightly affirm that the intelligentsia is now a new national category, closely linked to the working class and the peasants, to the people, a strong social force which plays an ever more important role in the general development of productive forces.

At the same time, as is known, there exist unitary nation states and states set up on federalistic bases, in which several nations coexist.

As for this country, it is a military unit-state. The process whereby national unity was achieved came to an end on December 1, 1918, when Transylvania united with Romania and the unitary national state came into being.

Historical circumstances, as also foreign domination, accounted for the coexistence of peoples of various nationalities in the territory of our homeland. That is why in Romania there are Romanian citizens of various nationalities, not only of Magyar, German and other nationalities.

Our Party has always declared and taken action against any national discri-

mation, for the full equality of rights of all the homeland's sons. Socialist law has solved completely and in a principled manner the question of securing fully equal rights to all the homeland's sons, irrespective of national origin.

We consider that all the citizens of

Romania, whatever their recent or remote national origin, are citizens enjoying equal rights but also having equal duties, sharing in the responsibility for the steady implementation of the programmes for socioeconomic development, for the building of socialism and communism in Romania!

In all democratic bodies, from the grassroots to the highest echelons, in the Party, mass and public bodies, in all activities, all working people and their representatives take action shoulder to shoulder, in tight unity, without any distinction whatsoever!

I have approached these questions in this general analysis, any theoretical or practical misunderstanding of the national question may have adverse effects. We shall have to take further action, in utter firmness and consistency, for the unflinching implementation of Party's policy of full equality and continuous upgrading of the whole people's material and cultural living standard.

Let us work so that our people, all the homeland's citizens, take firm strides towards the elimination of any distinctions of origin. Without denying anyone's origin, let us work in close unity, to build the unitary socialist people of socialist and communist Romania! This is the objective law of social development, of the golden future of mankind, therefore of Romania too!

The questions relative to the upgrading

## IX. THE PROFOUND CHANGES WROUGHT IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY, THE HOMOGENIZATION OF OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETY, THE LONG-TERM CREATION OF THE UNITED WORKING PEOPLE

Dear comrades,

The strong development of productive forces, the great revolutionary transformations, the building of socialism and the transition to building the multilaterally developed socialist society have wrought thorough changes in the social structure. Exploiting classes — the bourgeoisie and the landlords — were done away with, and a definitive one was put an end to workers' exploitation and oppression by man.

As a consequence of the strong growth of industry, the working class has grown constantly. The general standard of professional, technical and cultural training of working people has been raised. Life, the true judge, has forcefully demonstrated that the working class discharged and discharged creditably its mission of leading social class of the entire society. It represents today the strongest social force and, in the perspective of the years 2000, it will keep growing in point of numbers and especially general training, following the generalization of 12-year education, the upgrading of its standard of general, vocational and technical knowledge, meeting to an ever larger extent the requirements of an intellectual working class.

Thus we may say that it has become the basic cadre of the working class, that party and cadre of the working class, that the alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals accounts today for the genuine strength of the socialist society and the guarantee of our homeland's development in the work of socialism and communism.

Other social categories have also developed, which work in tight connection with the working class and the other social forces.

One may say that present-day Romania's social structure is an expression of the great changes that occurred in the general development of society, in the

process of improving the people's material and cultural standards, for strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty!

We have set out from the fact that the party cannot and must not play its leading role from outside, but through the direct commitment of the party members, the party, to the work for the homeland's development.

More than 20 years of experience have proved this type of activity to be correct and led to a powerful strengthening of the party's ties with all the sectors of economic and social life, with the masses of working people.

Today, the Romanian Communist Party has over 3,700,000 members; 85 per cent of them workers, which proves that our party continues to be and has to remain a truly of the working class that most advanced agent force of our society.

Several nominations three at least — for the election of leading cadres, confessors and other forms, probation included for certain kinds of jobs, ensure both the appointment of the best cadres and activists, and the permanent control of the Party, of the working people over those

of various sectors of activity.

We have set out from the fact that the party cannot and must not play its leading role from outside, but through the direct commitment of the party members, the party, to the work for the homeland's development.

The thesis according to which the party must not be directly responsible for the implementation of the economic and social plans and programmes, but has to let the economic and social sectors and units solve the questions as they think fit is in our opinion entirely wrong and harmful, it is a support for liquidation, for the utilization of the party's power, endangering the very consolidation of socialism. If the party no longer takes responsibility for the implementation of its programme of socialist and communist construction, then the question rightly emerges as to what the party's role may be and what it continues to be necessary. The gap left behind by the party will cause a void in the political and social life, which will be filled by other political forces.

NO! The party cannot give up its role as leading political force in socialist construction, it must continue and even further develop its role without disappearing sooner or later.

That is why we need to work, most firmly against any tendency to eliminate and weaken the role of the party. Let us do everything to strengthen the party's political, ideological, organizational unity, its leading role in all the domains

demonstrates the correctness of the thesis according to which, in step with the implementation of the Party Programme and the creation of conditions for passing to communism, constant homogenization of all social classes and categories will take place, through the wiping off of distinctions between town and village, the levelling of vocational and technical training standards, the mechanization, automation and robotization of productive processes, the improvement of the general standard of training and culture. In this way, a united working people will be created, with common aspirations and interests to consciously build a free and independent future, of well-being

and happiness, to ensure the full equality of rights, the assertion of the principles of socialist and communist ethics and equity, the continuous ascent of our socialist homeland to the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

Given the new social structure of our people, we are in duty bound to do our utmost for firmly carrying on the law-like process of strengthening of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, for the consolidation of our socialist society's unity and for its homogenization. Only in this way shall we work like true revolutionaries, and ensure the golden future of our socialist nation!

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Dear comrades,

The great revolutionary transformations, the remarkable achievements in the country's socioeconomic development, in uplifting the people's material and cultural living standards attest with the strength of undeniably facts the progress of our nation, of socialist Romania!

We must never forget that only to the extent to which the Party works with all its might for implementing the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advance to communism, do we have a guarantee of its successful implementation.

Enhancing the responsibility of the state bodies, of the bodies of revolutionary workers' democracy, of the collectives of working people does not run counter to strengthening the leading role of the working class and the other progressive democratic forces to accomplishing the revolution of social and national liberation and to building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

We can say with justified pride that through its entire activity the party of the communists has proved to be the vital centre from which light and life-giving warmth radiate, the most advanced conscience of our people.

Life — the supreme judge — strongly proves that our party has applied in a correct way the general laws, the socialist principles to realities and conditions in Romania.

Throughout the socialist construction period, particularly after the Ninth Congress, our party has grown continuously, has become a powerful political force, honourably fulfilling its role as political leader of the destinies of the whole nation.

Firm measures have been endorsed to improve the party's organization, to develop party democracy, the cadre promotion system and the way party bodies are elected, from top to bottom, to enhance the responsibility and role of party bodies and organizations, of the communists in making all the decisions concerning the domestic and foreign policy of socialist Romania.

Setting out from the fact that the active, the basic cadre of the party must remain in close contact with the people, the alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals accounts today for the genuine strength of the socialist society and the guarantee of our homeland's development in the work of socialism and communism.

Following the marked growth of industry, agriculture and the other sectors of activity, the progress of science, education and culture, the number of intellectuals has grown over ten times, with the ranks of the intelligentsia being joined by workers, peasants and other working categories.

In this way, we may rightly affirm that the intelligentsia is now a new national category, closely linked to the working class and the peasants, to the people, a strong social force which plays an ever more important role in the general development of productive forces.

For reaching changes have been wrought also among the intelligentsia.

Following the marked growth of industry, agriculture and the other sectors of activity, the progress of science, education and culture, the number of intellectuals has grown over ten times, with the ranks of the intelligentsia being joined by workers, peasants and other working categories.

Setting out from the fact that the party cannot and must not play its leading role from outside, but through the direct commitment of the party members, the party, to the work for the homeland's development.

More than 20 years of experience have proved this type of activity to be correct and led to a powerful strengthening of the party's ties with all the sectors of economic and social life, with the masses of working people.

Today, the Romanian Communist Party has over 3,700,000 members; 85 per cent of them workers, which proves that our party continues to be and has to remain a truly of the working class that most advanced agent force of our society.

Several nominations three at least — for the election of leading cadres, confessors and other forms, probation included for certain kinds of jobs, ensure both the appointment of the best cadres and activists, and the permanent control of the Party, of the working people over those

of various sectors of activity.

We have set out from the fact that the party cannot and must not play its leading role from outside, but through the direct commitment of the party members, the party, to the work for the homeland's development.

The thesis according to which the party must not be directly responsible for the implementation of the economic and social plans and programmes, but has to let the economic and social sectors and units solve the questions as they think fit is in our opinion entirely wrong and harmful, it is a support for liquidation, for the utilization of the party's power, endangering the very consolidation of socialism. If the party no longer takes responsibility for the implementation of its programme of socialist and communist construction, then the question rightly emerges as to what the party's role may be and what it continues to be necessary. The gap left behind by the party will cause a void in the political and social life, which will be filled by other political forces.

NO! The party cannot give up its role as leading political force in socialist construction, it must continue and even further develop its role without disappearing sooner or later.

That is why we need to work, most firmly against any tendency to eliminate and weaken the role of the party. Let us do everything to strengthen the party's political, ideological, organizational unity, its leading role in all the domains

of activity, throughout society, to ensure the full equality of rights, the assertion of the principles of socialist and communist ethics and equity, the continuous ascent of our socialist homeland to the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

Given the new social structure of our people, we are in duty bound to do our utmost for firmly carrying on the law-like process of strengthening of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, for the consolidation of our socialist society's unity and for its homogenization. Only in this way shall we work like true revolutionaries, and ensure the golden future of our socialist nation!

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In the long history of the Romanian people, the communist party has been the only party to have held dearer the interests of the working people in general, of the whole nation, and at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, to have led the working class and the other progressive, democratic forces to accomplishing the revolution of social and national liberation and to building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

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bright future, communism! We need new revolutionary, patriotic songs — which should draw on our people's life and ever glorious past — and new fine arts works. As a rule, the improvement of economic principles, of production management must go hand in hand with the development of society and socialist bases, and by no means pave the way to capitalist forms which can only seriously affect future development, socialist construction, the peoples' welfare and independence.

There are many theoretical questions on which our party and state cadres, those working in the areas of ideological activity, social sciences, the party's basic cadre, and our entire party must concentrate, in whose study and correct understanding they must engage with all the forces for the development of the theory and practice of socialism in the new conditions.

The higher one's ideological-theoretical standard, the better the understanding of the changes occurring in society and in the world, and the stronger the development of the revolutionary outlook and spirit of action of the organizational, practical activity as part of the implementation of the general policy.

Let us do our best so that theoretical, ideological activity may shortly turn into strong forces that will light like the shining sun the path to communism, to a world in which people may be full masters of their destinies!

Dear Comrades,

It is necessary to intensify political, educational and cultural activity, the activity of uplifting the revolutionary consciousness of all working people, to highlight the new breakthroughs in science and technology, in the human knowledge in general, in keeping with the scientific outlook on the world and life, historical and dialectical materialism. Let us improve education from the point of view of both general, technical-scientific knowledge and the revolutionary outlook on the world and life! Let us improve party education, mass education, set up new forms of developing the scientific knowledge on the world and life.

We are living in a period of tremendous gains of science and technology in all spheres, of human knowledge in general. We must understand that only to the extent to which we shall arm the youth, working people, our entire people with these new gains of science and human knowledge shall we improve the general training of the builders of socialism in this country. We have a strong material base and above all we guide ourselves in our entire activity by the revolutionary scientific outlook. Our party's policy, its principal themes and most indeed represent a strong factor in the entire scientific-educational activity. During its history, our people, its enlightened personalities made a great contribution to the development of science and technology — there were moments when they were in the front lines.

Now, when we are passing to a superior development stage of our socialist society we must be aware that it is objectively necessary to raise the general standard of knowledge and especially to provide the entire people with the latest gains of science and technology, of human knowledge in general. Only on the basis of the most advanced breakthroughs in science and technology shall we be able to build a superior society.

At the same time, we ought to educate the whole people, first of all the young people, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism, of dedication to the country, the people and the party's cause.

Over this period more and more states have embarked on the path of socialist construction or of self-reliant socio-economic development.

In keeping with the fundamental socialist principles of its international policy, Romania has broadly expanded its

home and foreign policy, while representing the best guarantee of our homeland's advance on the path of socialism and communism, of the continuous strengthening of Romania's independence and sovereignty!

## XII. SOCIALIST ROMANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND COLLABORATION, OF ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN SOLVING THE MAJOR ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE

Dear comrades,

In their international activity, our party and state have always set out from the interdependence and dialectical unity between domestic and foreign policy, from the fact that for fulfilling its socio-economic development plans and programmes our people — as in fact all the world's peoples — need peace and broad international collaboration.

In the spirit of these principled guidelines, especially after the Ninth Party Congress, this country has conducted an active foreign policy of participation in the settlement of the complex international issues, in the struggle for disarmament, peace and broad collaboration with all the world's states, irrespective of their social system.

Lito, developments have fully confirmed the justness of our party and state's international activity. One can say that over this period there have been no important issues in international life in which Romania has not taken action, making an active positive contribution to their settlement.

We have actively backed the peoples' national liberation struggle and the consolidation of the independence of the states that became independent after World War II.

Generally speaking, great revolutionary changes and transformations have been wrought in international life. One can say that colonial domination has been eliminated, new principles of interstate relations have asserted themselves, the non-aligned movement and the developing countries' movement have emerged and developed tremendously, and so have other international bodies playing an ever greater part in international life, in solving the complex problems of the contemporary world.

Over this period more and more states have embarked on the path of socialist construction or of self-reliant socio-economic development.

In keeping with the fundamental socialist principles of its international policy, Romania has broadly expanded its

political, economic, technical-scientific cooperation with all the world's states, irrespective of their social system. At present, this country maintains friendly, economic and other relations with 128 states and has a broad international economic and technical-scientific collaboration. This is also manifested in the about nine-fold growth of its foreign trade and the one-fold increase of its exports over the last 20 years.

Throughout this interval we have taken

most of them action for expanding our relations with all the states according to the principles of fully equal rights, observance of mutual non-interference and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, respecting every people's right independently to choose its own path of socio-economic development, free from any outside interference.

We have broadly promoted our relations with all socialist countries, and consistently worked for consolidating their unity and collaboration, considering this to be an objective need and a basic requirement for their assertion in the international arena, for strengthening the forces of socialism and enhancing the socialist system, and for consolidating the international peace and collaboration.

We have expanded the relations with the developing and the non-aligned countries, generally with all small and medium-sized states, considering that they have an ever more important role to play in settling the great and complex international issues, in the policy of independence and peace and for public property.

At the same time we have broadly developed the relations with the developed capitalist countries, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We take an active part in the international division of labour in the exchange of material and cultural assets. We consider that the development of relations with all states worldwide is part and parcel of our homeland's domestic and foreign policy, of the policy of peace and collaboration, of building a better and more just world, on our planet!

## XIII. THE RATIO OF FORCES AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORLD SITUATION; THE NEED FOR A NEW THINKING, FOR A NEW POLICY IN APPROACHING AND SOLVING THE SERIOUS AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS CONFRONTING OUR AGE

Dear comrades,

One of the fundamental features of our epoch is the deepening division of the world into two diametrically opposed groups — the poor and the rich — both on the national and on the international plane.

As a consequence of the imperialist, neocolonialist policies of superimperialist monopolies and the international financial capital, the gap between poor and rich countries has grown wider over the last decade. Most of the countries in the world have grown ever poorer while a small number of developed states have become ever richer, which deepens the contradictions between rich and poor countries, and thus actually becomes the fundamental contradiction of the contemporary world.

It is necessary to improve the activity of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization which includes over four million working people who are not members of the Romanian Communist Party but who are taking action within this organization in close collaboration with the party's leadership, and represent an important force in the country's entire scientific and cultural life.

The trade unions, the youth organizations, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, the other mass organizations comprise virtually all working people, all social categories. Should we add here the young pioneers' and homeland's falcons' organizations to the creative activity of the "Song to Romania" National Festival? To this end we must build organizations that are active in the spirit of revolutionary responsibility for the general interests, for the cause of socialism and communism in Romania!

Likewise, we ought to take firmer action and improve the activity of the trade unions, of the Union of Communist Youth, of women's organizations, of the young pioneers' and homeland's falcons' organizations of the other mass public organizations.

It is necessary to improve the activity of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization which includes over four million working people who are not members of the Romanian Communist Party but who are taking action within this organization in close collaboration with the party's leadership, and represent an important force in the country's entire scientific and cultural life.

The very results of this activity highlight once again the role of the masses, of the people as the true master of culture. In the entire development of our homeland, let us improve the creative, artistic, cultural and artistic creation actively engaging scores and hundreds of thousands of people in towns and villages in this effort to upgrade the overall cultural standard.

As I pointed out at the opening of the academic year in Timisoara, we must focus our concerns on intensifying research activity, raising professional, technical and cultural standards, providing the working people, the entire people with a high level of scientific and technical knowledge. Let us become a strong scientific and cultural force, a people working most consciously and responsibly, in a revolutionary spirit, which should ensure the attainment of its development goals while making a contribution to the general development of world sciences and knowledge.

An important role in this entire activity involves on the "Song to Romania" National Festival, but also in the important, important movement of mass scientific, technical, cultural and artistic creation actively engaging scores and hundreds of thousands of people in towns and villages in this effort to upgrade the overall cultural standard.

The very results of this activity highlight once again the role of the masses, of the people as the true master of culture. In the entire development of our homeland, let us improve the creative, artistic, cultural and artistic creation actively engaging scores and hundreds of thousands of people in towns and villages in this effort to upgrade the overall cultural standard.

At the same time, we ought to take

positive steps have been taken in the direction of the settlement of the armed conflict in the Middle East, issues for a lasting and just peace in the region, which should ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, inclusive of the creation of an independent Palestinian state, the recognition integrally of all the states in the region, of Israel included.

Positive steps have been taken in the

direction of disarmament, and the

elimination of nuclear weapons, nuclear-weapon tests, nuclear-weapons

and the policy of militarizing outer space.

The policy of force, of dictate, of interference in other states' affairs is maligned.

These are the reasons that make us

accept the situation as extremely serious,

and we have to act in all firmness, with a full sense of responsibility, in close

unity with the realistic, anti-imperialist

forces, with all peoples, for a new, democratic policy of peace, disarmament and equal cooperation with all states worldwide.

It is more necessary than ever before

that everything be done to ensure the

peoples' right to life, to existence, to freedom and independence!

It is necessary to come to a general

realization of the fact that, in the

conditions of nuclear weapons, there is no

other way, no other policy than to com-

pletely renounce force, war, to achieve a

new, lasting peace through international life.

This serves the interest of the respective

peoples, the cause of all states'

peace and security.

Romania will further support in all

determination, the peoples' struggle for

the elimination of any form of colonialism

and neocolonialism, for national inde-

pendence for the free, self-reliant

ascension of each nation.

We firmly condemn South Africa's

racist and apartheid policy and decide

in favour of the liquidation of this policy

as soon as possible, and the ensured

of the South African majority popula-

tion's right to take part on an equal footing in the whole economic and political life.

All states have to give up nuclear tests

and the policy of militarizing outer

space.

We are also in favour of a general

agreement between the Soviet Union and

the United States of America on a 50 per

cent cut in strategic nuclear weapons.

An end should be put to updating and

improving the existing nuclear weapons,

as well as to producing new ones.

All states have to give up nuclear tests

and the policy of militarizing outer

space.

We are also in favour of a general

accord forbidding the use of outer space for

military purposes and providing for its

use only for peaceful purposes, under

proper control.

Closely related to that, we think it is

very important that a general agreement be concluded on the protection of the

environment and of space, to protect and

conserve living conditions both on earth

and in space.

Furthermore, negotiations on reducing

conventional weapons in Europe and the

world over should open as soon as pos-

sible.

It is necessary to step up the activities

for the elimination of chemical and other

mass destruction weapons, as part and

part of the complete liquidation of nu-

clear weapons and of radical conven-

tional arms cuts!

We think that an important part in

this respect is played by the initiation

of negotiations between the Warsaw

Treaty countries made in this respect

to the elimination of chemical and other

mass destruction weapons, as part and

part of the complete liquidation of nu-

clear weapons and of radical conven-

tional arms cuts!

We believe that settling to the

best of our knowledge and

ability the complex problems of peace

and progress in the international arena

is a task of the entire people.

Dear Comrades,

One of the fundamental features of our

epoch is the deepening division of the

world into two diametrically oppo-

sited groups — the poor and the rich — both

on the national and on the international

plane.

In general, the entire world is

characterized by

the deepening of

the contradictions between the rich and

poor, between the developed and unde-

veloped, between the advanced and

backward, between the modern and

the backward, between the

rich and the poor, between the

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to the questions posed by socialist construction, and open up clear, bright prospects in improving socialist construction, enhancing the role of the masses, developing socialist democracy, the revolutionary spirit in the work and struggle against everything that is old and outdated, for promoting what is new, for firmly implementing the socialist principles through the work of building the new socialist system.

Starting from all this, we consider that the communist and worker parties in the socialist countries should reinforce their solidarity and collaboration, the exchange of experience, analyse from scientific, revolutionary positions the present and future questions of socialism.

At the same time the communist and worker parties should strengthen their solidarity in order to build a new and solid front of struggle and combativeness, for the more active participation in solving the major issues of the contemporary world.

Resolutely removed should be certain instances of misinterpretation, of confusion, of assimilating certain mistakes, certain shortcomings, certain abuses, even to the essence of socialist society itself.

In our opinion we should set out from the fact that socialism has proved its capacity to develop in the development, along a historically short interval, of a new social system.

A scientific analysis, however brief, demonstrates with the power of unshakable facts that capitalist society, which doubtlessly played an important role in the development of civilization, can no longer solve the intricate political and social problems of the world today, can no longer give clear prospects to the working people, to the nation,

that, historically speaking, socialism has the mission of ensuring the creation of a new society which should solve the complex socio-economic questions in a new way, providing also fully equal rights to all citizens of the respective countries, without any distinction whatsoever, of building a world which each people, each nation may work for its well-being and happiness, in full freedom, and also in cooperation with all the world's peoples.

The Romanian Communist Party is firmly in favour of meetings, regional or international conferences included, of communist and worker parties, considering they are necessary for increasing the spirit of struggle and combativeness, for stronger collaboration with a view to settling the issues of the contemporary world in a new way.

We are, at the same time, in favour of expanding and strengthening cooperation with the socialist and social-democratic parties, since this is an objective necessity for the people's future, for progress, for all mankind's peace.

We have gone a long way of struggle and work, we have overcome a lot of difficulties, climbing steadily to the lofty and bright peaks of communist civilization.

We have reached great heights wherefrom we can see how wonderful our prospects are.

Through our whole nation's united work, under the leadership of the party, we have made our aspirations, our dreams of a golden future come true.

What will the first century world look like? — is a fundamental question of all progressive parties and movements.

We have to do our utmost for all peaceful to begin the third millennium with better prospects as concerns the complete scrapping of nuclear weapons, disar-

mament, the eradication of underdevelopment, and the building of a new economic order, the establishment of relations of cooperation of full equality among all the world's nations.

This is the only way to fulfil the people's aspirations, to ensure them a free, independent and better future!

In this spirit, the Romanian Communist Party is determined to further take firm action to contribute to the victory of progressive, realistic forces, for the triumph of the lofty ideals of freedom and independence, for progress, for a better and more just world, for the victory of socialism!

Let us discuss the questions on the agenda in a critical and self-critical spirit, with a sense of responsibility, take a stance against shortsighted and nihilistic, at the same time, draw conclusions from our achievements and take the necessary steps for our firm, undivided advance towards the high summits of communist civilization!

There is no force in the world that can stop mankind — hence, our people in

its progress to the new gold

ages, we still have a long way to go.

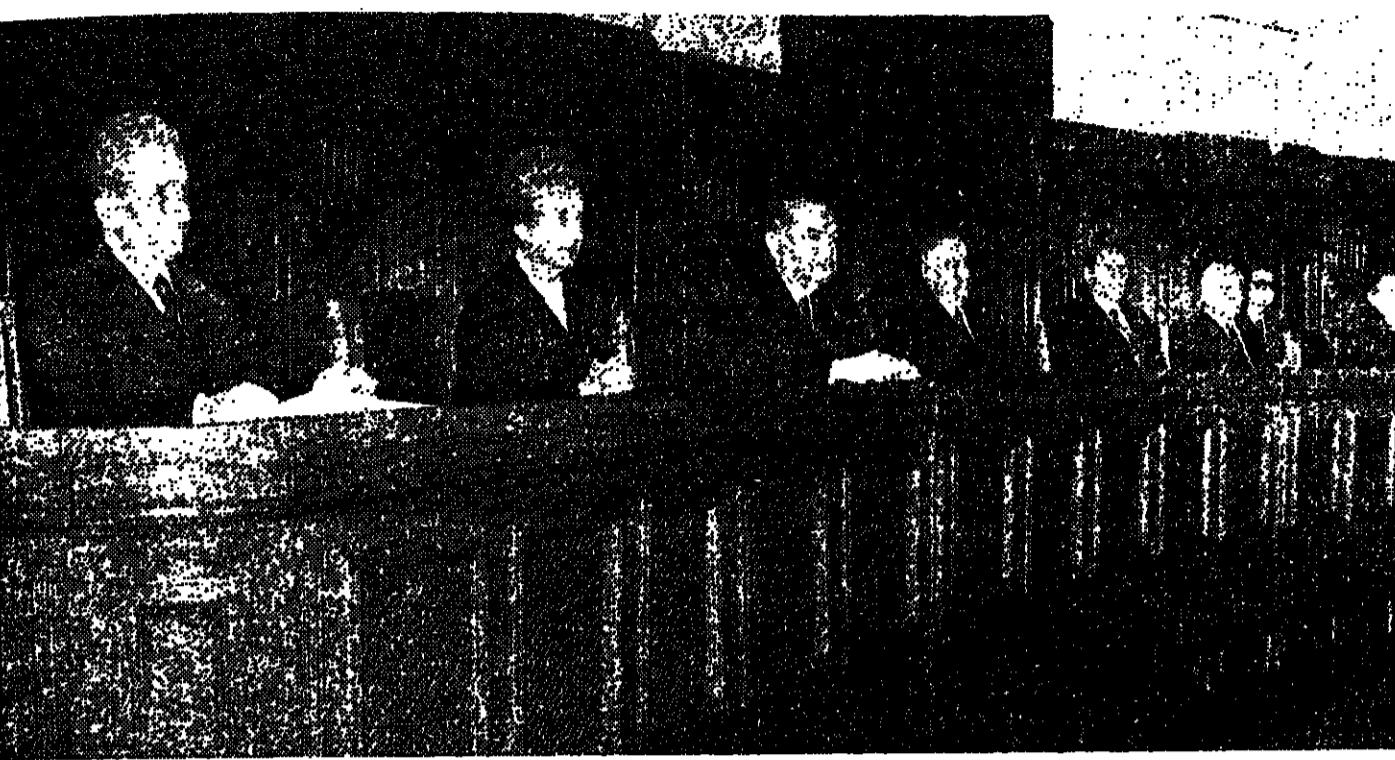
There are still many obstacles in the way to the high peaks of the new civilization. But the road behind us, the obstacles we overcome, make our accomplishments a guarantee that we will advance firmly, surmounting all hindrances, to see the golden dream of mankind, of our people — communism fulfilled!

Let us take the pledge before the Party, the people to work in all determination and firmness, in a revolutionary spirit to serve under every circumstance the cause of socialism, of communism, the cause of the people, the welfare and happiness of Romania's independence and sovereignty.

Let us always keep in mind that there is nothing, and that there can be nothing above the general interests of the whole nation, above the interests of socialism and communism, that secures the freedom, well-being and dignity to our whole nation!

Let us do our utmost for peace and collaboration to triumph in the world!

## SESSION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY



# NICOLAE CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE JOINT MEETING OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, OF DEMOCRATIC BODIES AND MASS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

Taking the floor on November 30 at the conclusion of the works of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted that that great democratic reform intended by over 4,000 Party and mass organizations of all sectors and addressed by 2,300 participants, turned into a genuine national conference, marking the final moment of the broad debates that proceeded in the Party and in the whole society regarding the current stage of Romanian socialist society and the country's future development prospects on the road to socialism and to the people's dream of communism. The works of the high democratic forum, the other aspect assessed, are the expression of the dialectical unity between the party leadership and the state bodies, the democratic bodies and mass organizations, they synthesize in a new form the Party's leading role in all sectors, in our whole society. President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the organization of this wide debate within the high democratic forum conducted, was necessary for a better understanding of the current stage of Romanian society, and especially for the establishment of the prospects and ways of Romania's future socio-economic development.

Mentioning that the high democratic forum debated and endorsed the plans of economic and social development for 1988, as well as the orientations for the ninth five-year plan for the first decade of the 21st century, President Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Everything we have achieved so far, the firm determination to strengthen state and cooperative socialist property, to improve the ideological, political-educative activity of moulding the new man, of increasing the party's role as the leading political force, the vanguard of the whole nation, gives the guarantee that everything that we undertake will be achieved through the joint work of our whole people". The speaker stressed the requirement of an immediate passage to steady organizational and political activity for the implementation of the plans, programmes and orientations for a long term, until 2000. He emphasized the need for good functioning of the socialist economy, for revolutionaries, workers, farmers, and others, the whole Party and state active, the cadre in all domains of activity to work in the spirit of lofty revolutionary responsibility to give pride of place to the observance and steady implementation of the Party's decisions of the country's laws, especially in Romania.

the continuous strengthening of legality, of order and discipline, the application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

Referring to the need to improve socialist production on the basis of the national plan for the development of all branches of activity, President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the regulation of production, of prices and of other areas could be made neither at random nor according to the requirements or the play of the market. The emergence of hardships in socialist development should not in any way be a reason for panic, for the loss of trust in the fate of the working people, of the people, generally, in socialism, the speaker said, adding that the actions for the continuous improvement of socialism were aimed at advance and not at a regression to capitalist forms. We should always start from the need to strengthen the role of the working class, of its alliance with the farmers and the intellectuals, with all working people, with the youth, not because it is only under such circumstances that the working class, socialism may assert themselves with all their might. It is only in this way, he also said, that the Party may best fulfill its mission of guiding the work of socialist and communist construction. He once again stressed the need for continually improving and strengthening the role of the party as the leading political force, the vanguard of the entire nation. We must permanently bear in mind that the Party is — and must be — fully responsible for the implementation of its programme, he said.

In his speech, President Nicolae Ceausescu recalled the memorable event of December 1, 1918 of the Union of Transylvania with the country and the formation of the unitary Romanian national state and pointed out that that act meant the attainment of the entire Romanian people's century-old aspirations.

The speaker paid warm homages to all those who contributed, through their activity and their sacrifices, to the creation of the unitary national state, which constituted the victory of the Romanian people's centurioses struggle to live united in a unitary state, in which should be center of its destiny.

Let me assure all those who participated in the formation of this democratic state, Romanian people through their activity and sacrifice, in the creation of the unitary Romanian national state.

Above all, let us honour and pay homage to our workers' people. In this basket of the entire history of our building — therefore also the basket of the unitary Romanian socialist development of the last 70 years are the true foundations of Romania's complete development on the road to a democratic, socialist, towards the

new principles of equality, now, just as in the past, a real necessity, a law of economic and social development, of the progress towards socialism, of the people everywhere who wish for a better world, a world of socialist justice.

Stressing that solidarity and collaboration are an objective law of development along the path of socialism and communism, the CCC General Secretary said: "Let me conclude this by setting out from the principles of a new unity, of respect, of respect for each party's and people's right to apply the general laws, scientific socialism in keeping with the conditions in each country. Let us achieve a powerful unity based on free, socialist, independent nations, each of them building socialism with the people and for the people.

At the same time it is necessary to work further to strengthen the collaboration and solidarity with the communist and workers' parties, with the socialist and socialist-oriented parties, with other democratic and progressive parties, since neither on a wider, international plane, can a party go alone in the big struggle for progress, for peace, for the victory of the new socialist system. The unity of the communist and workers' movement, set upon

this stands true also for our friends abroad, all peoples and states in Europe and all over the world, that socialist Romania will firmly continue to work in close collaboration with all the nationalities of the system, setting aside the principles of fully equal status, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and observance of each people's right to free, independent development, according to its own will — said President Nicolae Ceausescu in the final part of his speech. He expressed Romania's resolve to participate actively, with all its forces, in the implementation of the new policy, nuclear in the first place, for a world free of arms, free of war, able to work for a united Europe with different social systems, each of them building socialism with the people and for the people.

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Song to Romania National Festival which represents a wonderful framework for the assertion of the creative force of the people in the field of the wonderful culture, artistic tradition, but also of scientific creativity in other spheres of activity.

Further on, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

"On December 1, this year, we celebrate the anniversary of 20 years since the creation of the unitary national state, which constituted the victory of the Romanian people's centurioses struggle to live united in a unitary state, in which should be center of its destiny.

Let me assure all those who participated in the formation of this democratic state, Romanian people through their activity and sacrifice, in the creation of the unitary Romanian national state.

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communist society!

Let us pledge to serve through our activity in all fields the cause of independence and sovereignty, the cause of the people's welfare and happiness, to do our best for ensuring our nation a dignified place in a better and more just world, in a world in which the Romanian people may fully put to advantage its creative capabilities and grave, there are enough forces in the world which by working unified, can alter the course of events, can impose a new policy, a new thinking in all domains, can bring about disarmament, peace, the observance of each nation's right to a better, free and independent life, can ensure the peaceful living of mankind as a whole

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